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SOLOMON BEN JUDAH AND SOME OF HIS CONTEMPORARIES

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WHEN Neubauer published for the first time the Chronicle of an anonymous writer of the year 1047, no one could have suggested what an important place the *Solomon ben Judah* mentioned therein, who is styled by the Anonymous as 'the head of the Academy in Jerusalem', occupied in his days in the history of the Jews.¹ Only a few years later there appeared a fragment from the Collection of the Archduke Rainer, published by D. Kaufmann and D. H. Müller, which contains a letter written by a head of an Egyptian congregation to the Gaon Solomon ben Judah Heḥasid.² Both learned editors thought that the letter was directed to a Gaon in Bagdad. Afterwards Schechter edited a letter, written by Solomon ben Judah to Ephraim ben Shemariah, and thus attention was drawn more and more to the part played by both Solomon and Ephraim in their age and in their countries.³ Poznański gave us later on a sketch of Ephraim's life-story, based on published and unpublished material.⁴ The latter contribution shed light on some dark parts of a hitherto unknown chapter in the

¹ See *Mediaeval Jewish Chronicles*, Oxford, 1887, p. 178.

² 'Der Brief eines ägyptischen Rabbi an den Gaon [Salomo] ben Jehuda', in *Mitteilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*, IV, p. 127.

³ See *Saadyana*, pp. 111-13.

⁴ *REJ.*, 48, pp. 145-75, and Cowley, *JQR.*, XIX, pp. 107 and 250 ff.

history of the Jews in Palestine and Egypt in the first half of the eleventh century. But to recognize the moving forces of that age we must weigh the merits of the leading personages of the time we speak of. The most important man was not Ephraim, but the Gaon Solomon ben Judah. We know from Worman's publications that a great many of the letters exchanged between both are preserved in the Genizah Collection in Cambridge.⁵ From that collection we learn further that Ephraim was not the only one with whom the Gaon corresponded. We come across new names quite or partly unknown, as that of Sahalon ben Abraham or of Abraham ben Isaac Hakohen. Fortunately enough, we obtain not only names, but some very important material and valuable details on the inner life in the communities, as well as on the political influence exercised upon the Jews in the countries ruled by the Fatimides.

The period during which Solomon officiated as Gaon and spiritual guide, was full of troubles and struggles. Within and without the communities there was bitter enmity and warfare. To show the causes of the events as well as their consequences is the aim of the present contribution.⁶

1.

The first question we should wish to have answered is: Who was Solomon ben Judah? In order to do this we must refer to two new Memorial-lists, which throw some light upon the chief leaders of Jewry in Palestine and Egypt in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

⁵ See *JQR.*, XIX, pp. 725-30. As we know now, there are surely more than twenty letters by him.

⁶ We are able to understand and explain the contents of the letters with the help of Dr. C. H. Becker's *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens unter dem Islam*, Strassburg, 1902 ff.

Scholars have known for some time that there were two families who supplied Jewry in those days with teachers and leaders. The one traced its origin back to the early Patriarchs, the descendants of Hillel, the other to the priestly (Kohanim) Geonim. The result of the lists available thus far is given by Poznański, in his recent book on the subject, as follows: 'Der Begründer des palästinensischen Gaonats war also Abraham' (*Babylonische Geonim*, p. 84 = BG.). Poznański dealt with the earliest history of these Geonim in several of his essays, and he repeats his assumptions as though they were definitely settled: firstly, that Abraham, the supposed brother or son of the famous Ben Meir, founded in the year 943 the Palestinian Gaonate; and secondly, that the circumstances were especially favourable just after the death of Saadia for such an attempt, namely to establish (or re-establish?) the seat of the gaonic authority in the Holy Land. We are now able to prove, first of all, that Abraham was not the first Gaon of this family at all, since at least five of Abraham's ancestors were thus styled, and, moreover, among Abraham's predecessors we find Meir Gaon, who officiated in the fourth generation before Abraham. We learn, by the way, that we must drop the assumption that Abraham was the son or brother of Ben Meir. The whole of it is based on the belief that the Memorial-lists known thus far contained the earliest Geonim of this family. This is not so. The Dukran Tob, discovered by the present writer (MS. Adler, No. 2592), runs thus: משפחת רבינו הקדוש, יהודה גאון וחמורו מאיר גאון וחמורו משה גאון וחמורו אהרן גאון וחמורו יאשיהו גאון וחמורו אברהם גאון וחמורו יאשיהו גאון וחמורו אהרן גאון וחמורו יאשיהו אב בית דין וח' צדוק הצדיק אבד וח' משה הדיין וב' חמ' הנפ' בקצ' וב' הלל המתהלל וכלל ח' נהוראי הדיין וח'

שמואל וב' יהודה . . . אברהם וח' משה השר ויאשיהו השר. Of these new Geonim all but one are unknown. Meir was known by name as the father of the rival of Saadia, Ben Meir. Meir lived, therefore, before 922. In this year (922) Meir's son was already at the head of the party which disturbed the peace of Jewry in the East. Meir's father was Judah. This Judah is probably to be identified with Judah ben Alan Altabrani (of Tiberias), who is styled by Japheth ben Ali ראש ישיבת ירושלם. If this be right, then the often-discussed Judah of Tiberias would find his place in the history of our race (v. Pinsker, *Likḳute Kadmoniot*, p. ה' and 62, 139; Dukes, קונטרס המסורה, p. 2; Geiger, אוצר נחמד, II, 158; Baer, *Dikduke ha-Teamim*, p. 80; Steinschneider, *Die arabische Literatur der Juden*, p. III; cf. MS. Bodl. 2805, 14²). Whether this Judah was the founder of the Gaonate or not, must be left undecided. He is the first Gaon of this family known to us. His time must be fixed about 900, if not somewhat earlier. Judah's son Meir held the dignity of Gaon before 922. The next Gaon is Moses.

In a Cambridge fragment (T-S. 13 J. 16. 16) we came across a letter, which bears the signature: קמן עבריו משה הסופר בירבי יצחק החבר בסנהד' גדולה בירבי שלמה החבר בסנהד' גדולה בירבי מאיר ראש ישיבת גאון יעקב תלצנה. Mr. Adler discovered among his fragments an epigram with the acrostic שלמה, and the heading מן קול בן מאיר צדיק מולאי. It was only natural to suggest that this Solomon was the Ben Meir (*REJ.*, LXVII, 52). Poznański (*ibid.*, LXVII, p. 291) raised three objections to this view. First of all Ben Meir is nowhere styled Gaon. This is true; moreover, his own grandson, Moses, mentions him, as it appears from the signature above, with the title גדולה בסנהד' החבר בסנהד' גדולה. Poznański says

hereto : 'החבר בסנהדרין נר' : wurde aber von den officiellen Vorstehern der Lehrhäuser den auswärtigen Gelehrten als Auszeichnung verliehen (s. weiter unten, p. 103, n. 1).' Now, turning to p. 103, n. 1, we read : 'Es ist nun wahrscheinlich, dass Petachja diesen Titel von der ägyptischen Hochschule erhalten, die auch in dieser Hinsicht die palästinensische nachahmen wollte, und von ihr die Verleihung des Titels גרולה החבר בסנהדרין übernahm. Jedenfalls ergibt sich daraus, dass dieser Titel auch ausserhalb Palästinas verliehen wurde, wonach *ZfHB.*, X, 146, zu berichtigen ist.' If we refer to the passage *ZfHB.*, X, 146, we still remain unsatisfied : 'Alle diese Daten zeigen nun, dass ihre Träger den Titel eines גרולה החבר בסנהדרין von Palästina empfangen haben.' All these data do not, however, prove in the least that one could not be a חבר בסנהדרין in Palestine or in Jerusalem itself. We admit our inability to explain why Solomon, having been *the* Ben Meir, was styled החבר, and not Gaon, yet the objection raised does not hold good. The same is the case with Poznański's second objection. Poznański asks : 'Why does Ben Meir refer to his ancestors, the Patriarchs Gamaliel and Judah I, and not to Meir and so on?' We think he did this because the authority of the former was of more importance and of greater weight than that of the latter. We come now to the third point. The Epigram can have nothing to do with the Palestinian school. Why? Because the use of the word מולאי points to Persia. We beg to differ again. We find, namely in the addresses of letters from the Genizah, scores of times מולאי or אלמולאי (v. Ernest Worman, *JQR.*, XIX, pp. 735-43 ; Chapira, 'Un Document judéo-arabe de la Gueniza du Caire', in *Mélanges Hartwig Derenbourg*, Paris, Leroux, 1909, p. 125 ; in a letter, written about 1015 by Josiah ben

Aaron ben Abraham, T-S. 12. 16; Fragm. Bodl. 2878, no. 135, no. 36, no. 81; MS. Adler, *beginning* of the eleventh century). Possibly the Jewish population in Palestine was increased by Persian emigration. We find many famous men in the ninth and tenth centuries, who came from Persia. Therefore there can be no reasonable refutation on the ground that Solomon used the word מולאי.

Moreover, we have proofs for the fact that Solomon was the Ben Meir. The latter mentions in his letters a certain Isaac, 'father of the court' אב בית דין (see *REJ.*, XLVII, 187 and LXVII, 60). In the letter of Moses, he (Moses) gives the name of his father Isaac, and of his grandfather Solomon. We have an analogy to the case, in later times, of a father being the head of the Academy and his son אב ב"ר, in Sherira and Hai. [Weiss, *דור דור ודורשיו*, IV, p. 173, thought it quite unusual that the father and son should act as 'Gaon' and 'Ab' together. It was, according to Weiss, a thing unheard of before. Therefore Sherira was attacked, and imprisoned. The whole suggestion lacks, however, any proof, and is based on the misunderstanding that father and son could not act together; Sherira would not have introduced such an innovation.] We have further an instance that the later Gaon began his 'gaonic' career by acting as 'sofer' at the Academy. The case is that of Israel Gaon, the son of Samuel ben Hofni. In *ƳQR.*, XVIII, p. 413 f., we read: ישא אחינו שלום ממני ומן ית[ראל]: [Sherira also calls his son Haj ונם האי: *v. Schechter, Saadyana*, no. XLV, p. 118, ll. 9-11: בחורנו, and Eppenstein, *MGWJ.*, 1911, p. 495, n. 5]. This Israel Sofer is the son and successor of Samuel ben Hofni, Gaon of Sura. [We are able, now, to confirm the suggestion made by Poznański, *REJ.*, LXII, p. 120; LXIII, p. 318;

v. Ginzberg, *Geonica*, I, pp. 13 and 61; *ƳQR.*, N. S., IV, 403, that this Israel was the later Gaon of Sura. In a Memorial-list of MS. Adler 2594 we found: ישראל ראש ישיבה של גולה בן שמואל ראש ישיבת [ישיבה r.] של גולה בן חניני ראש ישיבת [ישיבה r.] [של גולה] בן כהן צדק. In a letter of the same valuable collection we read: תלת רפעתא וקצרת אכתר חכמי תלמוד ורום אלנזאלית ורום אל מתאיב אלדי באלאנבאר פי למור דאם אל מתיבה אלפיומי זכרו לברכה, וראם אלמתיבה האיי זכרו לברכה, וראם אלמתיבה שמואל בן חפני וחמודי ישראל ראש הישיבה זכר צדיקים לברכה. Perhaps we have to add here the letter Or. Brit. Mus. No. 5538, I, from ראש הישיבה to Jacob ben Maimun. On the secretaries of the Geonim in Babylon see further הלכות גרולות, ed. Vienna, p. 131 a; ed. Hildesheimer, p. 316 A; Epstein, in הגרן, III, 76; and *ƳQR.*, XVIII, p. 401 f.: ר' יהודה גאון שהיה הוא ור' מישוי : cf. *MGWJ.*, LII, 457.]

In our present state of knowledge it is quite impossible even to suggest why Solomon and his son Isaac are styled thus in the letter of their *offspring* Moses. The Dukran Tob leads us to the assertion that really neither of them—neither the father (Solomon) nor the son (Isaac)—succeeded Meir Gaon. Meir's direct successor was Moses Gaon. Is it possible that this Moses Gaon was Moses, the Sofer, the son of Isaac, the grandson of Solomon? It seems not so, because the Memorial-list speaks of חמודי ! Yet, we have several instances of grand-children being called not after their father's name, but by that of their grandfather's. Thus the famous Massorete's name is Ben Asher, in reality he was Aaron ben Moses ben Asher, likewise the other Massorete Ben Naphtali bore the name Moses ben David ben Naphtali, and still he is known as

Ben Naphtali (*v.* Baer-Strack, *Dikduke ha-Teamim*, pp. x ff.; Ibn Ezra on Exod. 2. 16, and Nahmanides, *ad loc.*; cp. Ginzberg, *MGWJ.*, 1910, p. 693, n. 1, and Kimḥi, 1 Chron. 2. 23 based on b. Kid. 4 a; b. Yeb. 70 a; b. BB. 143 a; Gen. 1. 946 : בני בנין הן בבנים; for later instances *v.* *H. B.*, XIX, p. 91). It seems not unlikely that Moses succeeded, for some reason or other unknown to us, his grandfather Meir.

We have further a fragment which enables us to fix the chronology of these Geonim. A letter, fragm. Adler, mentions severe persecutions in Sicily. The letter is written by אלחאי bar Hakim to Hananiah 'Ab beth din' ben ראש הישיבה The father's name is missing. Ḥananiah is the father of Sherira, who became Gaon in the year 938/9 (*v.* Neubauer, *M. J. Chr.*, I, p. 40). We assume, therefore, that Moses and his son Aaron I lived before 939. We see, according to this, between 900-40 the following Geonim in Palestine :

Judah (about 900)
|
Meir (before 923)
|
Moses
|
Aaron I (before 938)
|
Josiah I (about 938/9).

Josiah I was succeeded by his son Abraham, who lived according to Poznański, about 943. We are unable to see whence Poznański has obtained this date. Josiah III lived about 1015, he was the son of Aaron II, the son of Josiah II, the son of Abraham (*v.* T-S. 13 J. 1. 2; cp. *RÉJ.*, LXVIII, p. 47). There are several letters of Josiah III

preserved. We cannot describe them here, because we should trespass on the space at our disposal. What we have to prove is that the Geonim of this family functioned from about 900 till after 1015. Afterwards the members of this family became 'the Fathers of the Court' up to the twelfth century.

There is, however, another genealogical list of which we have to speak before dealing with Solomon ben Judah. We mean the Dukran Tob in fragment Or. Brit. Mus. 5557 A, p. 7 B. It reads as follows: *בית אלכהן. מעליה הכהן: גאון ביר' אליהו גאון ביר' שלמה גאון ביר' יהוסף גאון ביר' שלמה גאון ביר' מנחם כהנא רבה ביר' אליהו גאון*. This list has many similarities with that published by Poznański (*RÉJ.*, LI, p. 52), and many new points of information. Both give us the genealogy of Mazliaḥ Gaon. Or. Brit. Mus. 5549, I, does not indicate this, however. Further, we must not read No. 5549, I, l. 12 *מר רבי כהנא רבה*, but *מרדכי כהנא רבא* [Poznański repeats his suggestion *ZDMG.*, LXVIII, p. 128, n. 1, cp. now G. Margoliouth, *Catalogue fol. 562*], and the identification with Kahana ben Ḥaninai (*RÉJ.*, LI, 56) is obviously wrong. Mazliaḥ's pedigree up to Jehoseph's is in both the same. Jehoseph's ancestral line is, however, differently put:

5549, I
Jehoseph
|
Mordecai
|
Menahem
|
Solomon
|
Elijah.

5557 A, 7 B
Jehoseph
|
Menahem
|
Elijah.

In the first D. T. Mordecai is styled כהנא רבא, in the second Menahem. In the first the title is: ראש ישיבה של גולה, in the second גאון.

The new genealogical list throws light upon more than one unsettled problem of the history of this period. We have to refer again to Poznański, who says: 'Damals [after 1094] bekleideten wohl die Gaonwürde die in einer von mir edierten Gedächtnisliste erwähnten Elia ha-Kohen, Salomo und Menachem, die alle obigen Titel tragen' (*BG.*, p. 101). Further: 'Das ägyptische Gaonat dauerte also insgesamt etwa 130 Jahre (1063-1194)' [*BG.*, p. 104]. We will consider this view.

Let us begin with the last member of this family. Mazliaḥ was Gaon between 1127-38. He liked very much, even in his letters, to remind his contemporaries of his ancestors. Thus is T-S. 24. 26: עורנו בשם יי עשה מנצליה הכהן ראש ישיבת גאון יעקב החוסה בשם יי אלהיו מנן הוא לכל החסידים בו ביר' שלמה הכהן ר' ג' בן אליהו הכהן ר' ג' בן שלמה הכהן ר' ג' נזע יוסף הכהן בית דין כהן צדק . . . אלהיו מנן הוא לכל החסידים בו ביר' שלמה הכהן ר' ג' בן אליהו הכהן ר' ג' בן שלמה הכהן ר' ג' נזע יוסף הכהן בית דין כהן צדק . . . (v. Schechter's *Saadyana*, p. 87, n. 1; *ƒQR.*, XV, p. 94; XVIII, p. 723). Fragment Oxford 2878, 33, reads: מנצליה ר' ג' החוסה בשם . . . ביר' שלמה הכהן ר' ג' בן אליהו הכהן ר' ג' נזע יוסף הכהן בית דין כהן צדק . . . Another fragment of the Cambridge T-S. collection reads: מנצליה כהנא גאון בן שלמה גאון נזע אלהיו גאון נזע שלמה גאון נזע כהנים מנן הוא לכל החסידים בו ביר' שלמה הכהן ר' ג' בן אליהו הכהן ר' ג' בן שלמה הכהן ר' ג' נזע יוסף הכהן ב"ד כהן צדק נכד אהרן הכהן הראש קדושים וצ"ל. Mazliaḥ was the eighth successor of the first Gaon in our list; we may therefore take for granted that

the Egyptian Gaonate existed already about 900, and had a duration not of 130, but at least of 290 years. According to this, David ben Daniel's statement: *ומימי אבותינו הקדמונים לא היה לישיבת צבי בארץ מצרים חלק ומנת כי מצרים חוצה לארץ כבבל* (v. *Saadyana*, p. 109), 'from the time of our ancestors the Academy of Palestine had no right in Egypt, because it is *חוצה לארץ* (abroad) like Babylon', must be considered. The letters of Solomon ben Judah do not disprove this, since they were addressed to the members of the *בניסת אלשאמיין*, the Palestinian community (see against this view, *BG.*, p. 99, n. 1). Even Ebiathar does not deny the existence of the Geonim in Egypt (v. *Saadyana*, p. 106). Mazliah's father was Solomon I, Gaon between 1110-27. Very little is known of him. A letter in *Or. Brit. Mus.* No. 5535, written on the 19th of Adar 1427 (= 1116) to *ben Joseph הזקן* at *חורך סוריא* (v. *ZfHB.*, XVI, 92), and the letter published by S. Kádel (*Genizai Keziratok*, Budapest, 1903, vol. III, p. 17) must be considered in this connexion. Solomon's brother Ebiathar is, of course, not mentioned in our list, his date is between 1085-1110. The father of Solomon and Ebiathar was Elijah, who officiated between 1062-85. Poznański gives his biography based on the material published. The unpublished material enables us to follow step by step his 'gaonic' career. In 1031 we find him as *הששי* the sixth. Thus he signed a document with *אברהם בן מרדכי נט' רח'* and *שלמה הצעיר ר'י'ג' בירבי אליהו הכהן הששי בחבורה* [בן גאון] (MS. Adler 3011, 1). On the 10th of Ijar, on Wednesday, 4797 or 4799, i.e. 1037 or 1039, he signed with Solomon ben Judah at Damascus in the following way: *אליהו הכהן החבר בסנ' גדולה ביר' שלמה ראש ישיבת גאון*

זצל (MS. Adler, No. 3011¹). From this we infer that the *הששי* had a higher position than a *הרביעי*. In 1045 he signs as *שלמה הצ'*, in the year 4805 A. M. at Jerusalem with *אלהיו הכהן*. Elijah's signature is: *ראש ישיבת נאון יעקב ברבי הרביעי בחבורה בן נאון זצל* (T-S. 13 J. 1. 11). We have two other letters by him, one to his uncle's son, Abraham ha-Kohen ben Isaac ha-Kohen (T-S. 13 J. 23. 12), signed *מורה בחסדך בן דודך אלהיו הכהן בן נאון זצל*, the second one to Ephraim ben Shemariah (MS. Adler, No. 28c4), signed *אלהיו הכהן אב בית דין של כל ישראל בן נאון זצל*. Elijah had family connexions with the latter, too, since the latter's son-in-law is called *דודני בן דודני* (Joseph?). Elijah could not have been Ab before 1049 or 1050. In this dignity Daniel ben Azariah found him about 1054. He reached the age of seventy-five, and died 1085. He was, therefore, born in 1010.

Elijah's father, Solomon ben Jehoseph, died before 1031. He could not have been, as Poznański thinks (*BG.*, p. 91), the successor, but must have been the predecessor of Solomon ben Judah. Yet before coming to the question we started from, we have to deal with his successors and with one or two unsolved problems. Solomon ben Joseph's Gaonate was, as we established, before 1031 and not after 1053. It is impossible to say, owing to the lack of material, when Solomon ben Joseph died, and when Solomon ben Judah became Gaon. We shall have to bear in mind in dealing with these two Solomons, that where we have the signature of Solomon *הצעיר* 'the young one', we have a document by Solomon ben Judah, if not, they are by Solomon ben Joseph. Of Solomon's father we know only that he never was Gaon, but *בית דין* (Ab). Since his grandson Elijah was born 1010, the year of his birth must have been

at least about 960; his ancestors Menahem, Elijah and Mordecai lived, according to this date, from 900 to 960. We are thus able to state that as there were ראשי ישיבות נאן יעקב about 900 in Palestine, likewise there were ראשי ישיבות שלנולה in Egypt at the beginning of the tenth century. We said in Egypt! Is this statement correct, since we know that Elijah ha-Kohen, Solomon, and Menahem, according to the first list, or Mordecai, Elijah, and Menahem, according to the second one, were the ancestors of the Palestinian Geonim from Solomon ben Joseph onwards, and not contemporaries of Ebiathar and his brother Solomon and their father Elijah? That is impossible. Was there a Gaonate in Egypt in the tenth century? From the installation letter of Paltiel ben Samuel we learn of a ראש ישיבת ארץ הצבי (JQR., IX, 717-18; cf. E. N. Adler, גנוי מצרים, p. 51). If there had been a Gaon in Egypt, certainly he would be mentioned at least, either as a supporter, or as an antagonist of the Nagid. The Achimaaz Chronicle mentions the Palestinian and Babylonian Geonim of this period (v. *M. J. Chr.*, II, pp. 128 and 130), why not the Academy and heads of it in Egypt? How else are the two different titles to be explained? It seems that in Palestine itself there were two seats of the Academies, one in Ramleh, and the other in Jerusalem. This suggestion seems to be a daring one. Many centuries passed away, and the historians had nothing to report of one Academy in Palestine, and now we suddenly have two? Still, as we shall see later, there is some corroboration for our suggestion.

Besides these two families we find about 989-90 another family of Kohanim bearing the title ראש ישיבת נאן יעקב in Palestine. First of all Joseph Hakohen, and his sons

Samuel, Aaron, and Abraham. The first occurs in a fragment Adler, where both father and son have the same title, ראש ישיבת גאון יעקב. He is further mentioned in a colophon of a Midrash, with Josiah as Ab, and Isaac as third (v. המגיד, 1877, p. 134). Further, in a fragment Adler there is a document signed by Joseph ha-Kohen ר'יג', his son Samuel, then the third השלישי, and Aaron, the fourth הרביעי, with the addition בן גאון. And, finally, in MS. Adler, No. 223 we find Abraham החבר, the son of Joseph Gaon (see *JQR.*, N.S., V, 621; *REJ.*, LXVIII. 38 ff.). Poznański asserted that this Joseph was Daniel ben Azariah's rival (*ZDMG.*, LXVIII, 122, yet *BG.*, p. 68, withdrawn), which is quite impossible, since this Joseph is never called ר'יג', but אב הישיבה (see *JQR.*, N.S., VI, 157). At any rate, we see Joseph and his son Samuel invested with the dignity of Gaon about 990, and before.

Solomon ben Judah belonged to none of these families, he was not even a Palestinian by birth. N. Brüll identified him with the well-known poet Solomon ben Judah ha-Babli.⁷ This suggestion is still worthy of consideration. In a fragment Adler there is a Selihah, beginning: אבלה נבלה הארץ: written in the year 1362 (= 1051), when he was still alive. It was suggested by Poznański that his grandfather's name was Berechiah.⁸ The Bodleian fragment referred to does not furnish us, unfortunately, with any particulars about his date and origin. Solomon is considered by Poznański as having founded the organization of the הרביעי, השלישי and so on, which is wrong, since we find these titles already about 1000, or a few decades before his time.⁹ Yet Solomon

⁷ See *Jahrbücher*, IX, p. 112, and X, p. 182.

⁸ *REJ.*, LXVI, p. 62, note.

⁹ See my article in *המצפה*, 1914, no. 22, and Appendix p. 27.

prevented the re-establishment of the dual authority of the Palestinian Gaonate. This we may infer from his words: ואתה יקירנו אל תחוש לדברי החולק כי עדיין הוא מבחין ולא כל הימנו לחלוק ולהיות כנגדך, לא כל הרוצה ליטול לו את השם יטול ב[אי] אילו אנשים להטיל מחלוקות התחזק התאמץ הם ושלום לעשות שני ראשים כאחד אם לשם שמים אין זה הדרך¹⁰. The letter is addressed to Ephraim ben Shemariah. It may be that the Gaon's rival wished to restore the old order. For Sahl ben Mazliah speaks of two seats of learning in Palestine, when he says: ואם יאמר אדם כי הנה אחינו תלמידי הרבנים בהר הקודש (read so instead of ובכרמלה)¹¹. Josiah Gaon ben Aaron ben Abraham, lived at Ramleh,¹² and it is impossible to think that there was no seat of authority at this time in Jerusalem. The letter is written to Nathaniel השורחני ben Aaron. Solomon's elevation to his dignity and the first year of his office were full of trouble, as the numerous letters bear evidence.

Our suggestion pointed out on a previous occasion that there were frequently struggles in the time of these Geonim, will be proved by one of our fragments later on. First of all, we shall give some details about Solomon's native place and time. If we are right in interpreting a letter written to Ephraim ben Schemariah,¹³ not by the Gaon himself, but at any rate by a man of the Gaon's circle, the Gaon was born neither in Palestine, nor in Egypt.¹⁴ As for his time, we can establish now that Solomon was Gaon already before the year 1025.¹⁵ However, he must have been invested with that dignity a few years previously,

¹⁰ MS. Adler, No. 2804.

¹¹ Pinsker, ל"ק, p. 33.

¹² Fragment Adler.

¹³ T-S. 13 J. 21. 19.

¹⁴ מולדת אדונינו גאון is quoted, see *JQR.*, N. S., VI, p. 162.

¹⁵ See esp. T-S. 13 J. 13. 28, and note 31.

as will be proved later on. We may say therefore that the years of his Gaonate were from 1025 till his death about 1052/3. For about thirty years Solomon held the leadership in the Holy Land and in Egypt. The history of his office will show how unenviable the lot of a leader in Israel was in those good old days.

2.

Solomon's first and most severe trouble occurred before he was elevated to the high position which he had so much desired and which he held for more than two decades. The history of the Geonim in Palestine reveals many a tragedy, which a poet might dramatize to better purpose than an historian might describe, or the latter must be a dramatist, without disregarding the truth. The Geonim always feared that somebody might rise against them and attack their dignity. We hear it very soon, already in Solomon's time, that people said: The former leaders always stood against the blood of their colleagues¹⁶—hard allegation, indeed. There must have been, of course, a shadow of a reason for imputing so hideous a crime to Israel's leaders and teachers. If we recollect the fate of Joseph ben Abraham Hakohen, the thought may occur to us whether Joseph's misfortune was not caused by Solomon, so as to become Gaon. . . . Joseph passed perhaps away in a dark prison, vainly struggling for liberation. That suggestion, however, is still to be proved.

In no case did Solomon obtain his high office so easily as might have been thought. There was surely a severe struggle before the success on the side of Solomon was complete. Solomon's own statements will strengthen that

¹⁶ T-S. 13 J. 9. 2; v. now *REJ.*, LXVIII, p. 45.

opinion, for he says: 'I trust and hope in God, but when the hands of my enemies and the arms of the quarrellers will get power, then they can do whatever they want, appoint a man whom they like as head and leader; then the priest will be as the people, and they will judge their own judges.'¹⁷ Is it not undeniably established that the enemies wanted another man in Solomon's place, and had one ready? Of course, Solomon regards that man, his possible rival, as unworthy and as a sinner. He goes on to say: 'I am living in the holy city, sorrowful over myself and the age relying upon me; I am too good for these people, but what can I do? God has appointed me in my place, I ought to obey.' Thus the Gaon speaks.

Another difficulty lay in the appointment of Ephraim ben Schemariah as spiritual head of the community in Egypt, with the title החבר המעולה בסנהדרין גדולה. It is probably a consequence of the first-mentioned struggle that the enemies were against Ephraim. The Gaon calls him frequently: עומד בעזרתינו,¹⁸ therefore it might be that the people hated Ephraim because he advocated the Gaon. But it seems that even the Gaon's adherents regarded Ephraim as unworthy, and not qualified for this office. The whole trouble was caused by a man whose name we do not yet know. But it is certain that the particular man envied the position of Ephraim. In one case the opposition

ואני בד' בטחתי ובו חסיתי אם ראמה ידי המשמיצים ונברה זרוע¹⁷
ידי בעלי המחלוקת רשותם בידיהם להעמיד הטוב בעיניהם עליהם לראש
ולקצין להיות כעם ככהן לשפוט את שופטיהם. אני יושב בעיר הקודש
אלינו אליהם יכוננה בוכה על עצמי ועל העת אשר נצרך אלי אני איני
ראוי לאנשי העת הזאת אבל מה לעשות והשם נקרא ואי אפשר למאס
באשר [נעשה?] אלינו יהי שמו מבורך.

¹⁸ See T-S. 13 J. 15¹, [or קנאיתנו? עומד בעזרתינו].

alleged misbehaviour on the part of Ephraim. That was of course heaping coals of fire upon the heads of his enemies. The latter wanted Samuel Hakohen ben Abtalion in Ephraim's place. We conjecture that the same Samuel was the chief of the court before Ephraim, having the highest dignity in the community and בית דין.¹⁹

In connexion with these proceedings we find a number of instances when the ban was proclaimed against ministers of the congregations, who were not willing to obey their spiritual guide.²⁰ Although we do not know the name of the head of the adversaries, we see in one letter that he is inclined to come to an agreement. The letter²¹ is thoroughly obscure and in a few parts enigmatic. In order to solve the difficulties we should have access to the whole material from the Genizah. One or two points, however, are clear. First of all, that the antagonist is content if he gets the title of an אלוף, instead of the higher degree of a חבר. We learn that the Ḥaber stood over the Alluf, an important detail in the history of the organization of the Palestinian Geonim. During the entire time, Solomon supported, advised, and helped Ephraim by every possible means.²²

¹⁹ Fragment Adler.

²⁰ See *Saadyana*, p. 111; T-S. 13 J. 11. 9 has a letter to a community (perhaps מליג), to the effect that the Ḥazan and preacher Abraham ben Aaron is under the ban, because he behaved improperly towards Ephraim. The same will be the case in the letter published by Kaufmann and Müller (mentioned above). See further, *Monatsschrift*, 1906, pp. 597 ff.

²¹ T-S. 13 J. 15. 1.

²² קדמו שורות אליך אהובינו אחרי המועדים בהודעת שלום העם והם תשובת אנרותיך אשר נעו ליד [י?] מודיעות דרך אשר מאם במי שילוח [Isa. 8. 6] לשתות מי נהר לעצמו הפסיד כי נתרצה בשם אלוף תחת חבר בחילוף אין לנו להכריחו. ואם הקל בכבוד אם לאמר כי שכחה תורתה והרבה בשכח אשת אב כי מצואה הוריתה אשר הותר לנו שארית הוא יקנא למקיליה ויזכור לה ברית כי לא תשכח תורתה להכרית כי עתידה

Furthermore, we see that he asked a man, perhaps the lay head of the communities in the Diaspora or in Palestine, Saadya ben Israel, during his stay in Egypt, to support Ephraim with the royal authorities.²³ It is possible that the enemies went to the courts, as they threatened, just as we have seen on a previous occasion.²⁴

3.

We can see how deplorable the situation must have been, when the Gaon writes in such a manner, as given above; the more so, knowing as we do how eagerly the need for internal peace was felt in those days of danger. One passage in the letters enables us to fix the date of our letters.

היא לשוב אל בתי אכסניותיה לבלתי מהר הליכותיה. See the phrase תורה מחזרת על אכסניא שלה b. Baba meši'a 85 a.

²³ T-S. 13 J. 17. 17:

- 1 וימי המועדים קרבו ואני רוצה להיות ראש
- 2 שנה, ורצוני שיצא עמו כתב מן המלכות יגוננה אל לחזק
- 3 את ידו ממחרתרי הריב^a וכל העם אל מקומו יבוא בשלום.
- 4 וכל רצוני שיצא ביד רמה וקרן זקופה^b לשבר מתלעות עָוֶל^c
- 5 כי לבי כאוב עד למאד ואין יכלת לכתב כל מה שבלבי
- 6 וכי אנו ירים (?) יקרו (?) יחזה לפניו כל הדברים ועיני יד דרך
- 7 מצפה לביאת כתב ביציאתו ממצרים והוא יעש[ה] בחסדו עוד
- 8 ישמע תפלתי בעדו ובעד האח האדון תפארת בית ישראל
- 9 וחמודיהם וכל המשפחה להמציאם חן ושכל טוב בעיני
- 10 אלהים ואדם ושלמו ושלוש כבוד חמודו . . .
- 11 שלמה הנדכה^d בריבי יהודה נֵנִי.

There is mentioned אל החבר ש"צ (שמרהו צורו) that is, Ephraim. There are at the beginning another eleven lines I had not copied.

^a See Prov. 26. 20 f.

^b Perhaps זקופה וקומה, see b. Ber. 43 b; Yoma 19 b.

^c See Prov. 29. 17.

^d Cp. Dukes, *Moses ben Ezra aus Granada*, Altona, 1839, p. 14, where Moses ben Jacob also signed משה הנדכה בן יעקב.

²⁴ See I-S. 13 J. 9. 2.

Solomon describes the state of things in a lively manner: the armies have devastated the holy land, the sons of the oriental tribes destroyed the roads of Palestine, none can go out or enter in peace. He is always praying to God for the king's victory.²⁵ These lines were written undoubtedly in the days when the Arabic prince Hasan, of the Banu Gariah, Salih, the Mursid, of the Banu Kilab, and Sinan ben Alyan made the secret covenant to dethrone their lord and master the ruler Abu'l Hasan Ali el Zahir l'izziz din Allah.²⁶ In that disturbance the inhabitants of Palestine suffered very much indeed, Solomon turning to the leaders of the communities for help. One of the friends who helped the Gaon was Sahalon ben Abraham, why was styled ריש כלל. His residence can be traced from various passages, as Kairuwan.²⁷ There are several letters from Solomon Gaon to Sahalon ben Abraham. The first²⁸ relates that Solomon sent a messenger to Sahalon and the latter inspired the members of his community to do what there was in their power. The Gaon gives hearty thanks for the kindness evinced.

More importance should be attached to the second letter²⁹ we are speaking of. The Gaon reports the events in Damascus. The letter aims at inspiring the Resh Kalla to take steps with the authorities on behalf of the Jewish

²⁵ See T-S. 13 J. 9. 2.

²⁶ See C. H. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens unter dem Islam*, Strassburg, 1902, I, pp. 32 ff.

²⁷ See Worman, *JQR.*, XIX, 725; Poznański, אנשי קירואן, p. 44, and עניינים שונים, p. 50. It can be taken for certain that Sahalon lived in Kairowan, as can be proved through the fragment published in H. Hirschfeld's *The Arabic Portion of the Cairo Genizah at Cambridge*, V, p. 3, ver. xv. He was the ריש כלל in Kairowan.

²⁸ T-S. 13 J. 11. 5.

²⁹ T-S. 13 J. 13. 28.

prisoners in Damascus. It seems that we possess the second letter dealing with the prisoners.³⁰ We give here

³⁰ We give here the whole letter, as far as it is legible :

.....
 לקירנו וידידנו כב. נק. מור. סהלאן ראש בלא ישמרהו צור ומכל
 רע יהי נצור
 ביר. אברהם החבר נ"ע. קדמו מכתביי אל ידידי ש"צ הודעתי במ כי
 געו כתבם
 והחזק באשר עשה ובאשר התחזק הוא וכל אנשי כניסתו והחזקתי טובה
 למו ואישרתי
 כח נמול טוב וישלם פעלם ויהי משכורתם שלמה מעם יי
 אלהי ישראל^a
 חקק מלפני המלכות ומן הרוון יחיו לעד בהצלח האסורים
 ויוציאם
 אלהים לאור וכן נשלחו והיינו מקיים יציאתם מחשך וצלמות
 וניתוק מוסרותם^b
 והנה כתבים באו מדמשק כי עודם בבית הכלא אך המוסרות והמוטות
 הוסרו מעליהם
 אבל הפקידים עליהם בעונש בכל יום והם חולים המלך הכבוד ישלח דברו
 וירפאם^c ויוציאם
 לאור ויראו בצדקתם וכתוב במ כי ש(לח) אליהם פיתק מאת עדי בן מנשה
 הניכר בן אלקזאי
 כתוב בו תניי כי ישבעו ביי ובחיי המלך יחי לעד כי לא יקראו בשם
 חברים ולא ישרתו
 את בית ישראל בכל ארץ ארץ ישראל בשרות גדולה או קטנה לא
 במשפט ולא בזולת וכי
 השיבו אנחנו רוצים לשמוע דברי הפיתוק מפי כותבו ונשב לפי מה
 וכאשר
 עמרנו על דברינו נוסף ינון על מכאוב ואמרתי אוי נא לי כי יסף יי ינון
 על (מ)כאובי ונ^d
 נקוה לאור והנה חושך ונ^e עורניי אבך על השמועה הזאת ועורנו מקוים
 כי יביאו

^a Ruth 2. 12.

^b Cp. Ps. 107. 10 ff.

^c Ps. 107. 20.

^d Jer. 45. 3.

^e Isa. 59. 9.

the whole report : ' We received letters from Damascus that they (the men) are still in prison, although the iron chains

מדמשק חשוכות למכתבים שנכתבו מאת הזקן החשוב מר. ורב. נתנאל
הזקן הנקוב

אבולפוכאר ש"צ יהי אל עזרו ומר. ורב. מבורך השר ביר. עלי נע
דהנקוב אבולפצל כאשר ראו

מכתבים אשר באו מדמשק והוליכני אל (עצת) (?) זקנים בימים האלה בימי
הסתיו והשלג והקור

ואני זקן כבר ואין בי כח להלך מן הבית (החוצה) כי כשל בעוני כוחי f
אף כי אוכל אל דמשק ולא

אדע אם יקרני אסון g ואם בנימין הצדיק [ק.] רא עליו אבינו יעקב עליו
השלום אשר זכות עו[מד]

ותולה לפניך . . אף כי אנחנו החוטאים . . . באו תשובות נראים
ל . . . סים על הולכתי אף כתוב

בהם תניים קשים אפילו האדונים לא יתנו כמוהם על עבדיהם ואם כי לא
יזכר החרם (בהר) הזה

וכי יבדלו להם הקראין חנות אחד בשוק היהודים לשחוט ולמכור . . . בלא
בדיקה באין אדם רואה

וכי שאר הטבחים אם יבוא להם ששה הרא או פרה לא ימס אותם (?)
וכי אם יהיה

שירותם (?) לא יבוא עם הרבנים וירצו לחלל בו ולפתוח את חניוניהם
. . . . הרבנים עליהם וכי

האסורים לא יבואו לא בעיר הקודש לא ברמלה וכי יכתבו כתבים . . .
ויעידו עלי ועל הזקנים כי אנחנו ערבים בדבר

השמעתי על ארמנות באשדוד ועל ארמנות בארץ מצרים ונ h

וכבר שמתי את נפשי בכפי ובטחתי בבוראי אולי יעשה לנו ככל
להתחזק ולחזק ולאמץ כוח לכל מי שתדע כי יעמד בדבר

יגוננה אל אל רמלה ואל דמשק שלא יכריחו אותנו לכנס תחת
זכרו אחינו לא נראת להם שללה ולא הש (?) ארוכה כי לא נכחד מי . .

. . . . ואנו נשענים ואשר תעשה ותעשו בדבר הזה הוא לכל [ישראל]
צדק ושלום מ וכל קהליך קטן וגדול ובעונתי רפו ידי
לכתוב משמי מטירוף

ויוציא מצרה לרוחה למען שמו ולמען : On the margin of the letter:
בריתו וגומ' כי לא הריעותי את אחד מהם ולא הטרחתני וגם לא לקחתי

f Ps. 31. 11.

g Cp. Gen. 42. 4.

h Amos 3. 9.

are taken from them, notwithstanding they get their punishment every day from the overseers, while they are sick and ill, God send them health. There came an order from Adi ben Manasseh in which there is written the condition that they should swear by their God and by the life of the king that they will never call them partners nor serve their brethren in the land of Israel either in great or in small matters, neither rightly nor wrongly.' It can be understood only when we take into account the conditions in the countries where that happened. We know that the rebels stood in continuous connexion with the officers of the ruler, who was the servant of his ministers. The rebels kept the Jews in prison and alleged that they did it in the name of the king. Perhaps the prisoners served the rebels and were taken by the soldiers of the king. It is, however, more likely that just the reverse happened. At any rate, we see the Jews participating in the struggles. In another passage the Gaon expresses fear that Ramleh, where he is dwelling, and Damascus as well, will come under the new rulers. He prays that God may help the ruler.

If there were still the slightest doubt about the dating of the letters, one other fragment shows undeniably that the revolution took place in the time of Solomon, and furthermore that it had a very sad influence on the Jews in those countries. The fragment has neither address nor signature, כופר והוא עד ונאמן עלי וקצתי בחיי ונקטה רוחי וכבר . . אל מר ור' יש . . . ומר ור' שמואל, גם קדמו מכתבים להח . . מר רב אפרים החבר ש"צ, ואל כנען [מר, רב] יפת ראש הקהל ואל אחינו (?) מר' ור' יעקב ואל מר רב נתנאל תתיעצו יחד המקום יעזור אתם ויהיה עם [פיהם] ויורם דרך הישרה ויצליחכם בכל אשר תעשו יעקב (?) שלח . . . שלמה.

Between ll. 27-8 there is an addition : ולא אכנם בתניי באחד התניים ובן.

but we are fortunately able to fix the time. There is mentioned the name of R. Nathan, who occurs in one letter from Solomon to Ephraim.³¹ The letter is an account of the transactions between the Jews and the rebels. There is mentioned יבקי בן אבירזין, who seems to be one of the tribal princes. Moreover the Banu Guriah בני גבירה are mentioned quite expressly. What the letters say is to the effect that the rebels wanted huge sums for the captives, but the leaders could furnish only smaller sums.³²

³¹ See Schechter's *Saadyana*, pp. 112 ff.

³² T-S. 13 J. 20. 25.

- 1 . . . לוקחה ממנו כמו שלקח קרובך יבקי בן אבירזין^a
- 2 כי אם מאתים וחמשים זהובים. ושלח ולקח אותם
- 3 . . . שמעם ועניום ועבורתם הקשה ויש בהם נערה
- 4 [התנ?]ה עליה שלא יעננה וכל עת אנו בוכים על רוב עוונותינו
- 5 והיינו נסעים [נשבים?] ממקום למקום אחר כל זאת לקחנו
- 6 . . . קנים והלבינו אל אוהליו וישבנו בחרב יום ובקרח לילה^b
- 7 . . . בעדנו עמו ושאלנוהו. ועברו בינינו ובינו דברים הרבה.
- 8 . . . לן לכם מאצלי עבר אד[ו]מי ושנה כ' זהובים והביאו
- 9 . . . לקחו את אחיכם. ולכן אמרנו לא נוכל לעשות הדבר
- 10 ונצא על עצמינו דת שאינה הגונה שכך אמרו לנו חכמינו^c
- 11 [אין פודין את] השבויים יותר מדמיהם מפני תיקון העולם כתבנו אל
- 12 . . . לזקנינו מר רב נתן הכהן יח' לעד וליתר הקהל הקודש
- 13 [ה]ה[ם] השיב ר' נתן ואמר: הניחו הדבר עד שיבוא הממון
- 14 . . . אעשה בזה הדבר כחפצכם כפי יכלי והאלהים יצליח
- 15 . . . מכתב ממכתאר הערבי ואמר להם כי שלח בני גבירה^d
- 16 . . . היהודים א[ל] ארץ ברקה. ואני לא אשלח אותם בשבילך
- 17 . . . אחרי כל הקהל וסיפר להם זה הדבר ואמרו לא נוכל
- 18 . . . ה . . . מהשבויים במאה זהובים ושלח אליו תשורת(?)
- 19 . . . ושאלת עבודה והאלהים יצליח הדרך ויכפיל שכרו
- 20 . . . ויגידו . . . דלותם וכי העבדים . . .
- 21 . . . עבדום . . .

^a This name occurs also in the letter published by Cowley in *JQR.*, XIX, p. 250 f. He captured about 1029 (?) four Rabbanite and three Qaraite Jews.

^b Gen. 31. 40.

^c Mishnah Gittin, p. 45 a.

^d Banu Guriah.

A third correspondent of Solomon was Abraham Hakohen ben Isaac Hakohen. We have thus far come across a few letters, one of which throws light upon Solomon's relation to the non-Jewish officers.³³ The others require further investigation.³⁴ We wish only to mention here that this Abraham was perhaps a relative of Solomon ben Joseph, for the son of Solomon calls him in one letter his uncle.³⁵ We hope to be able to say more of Abraham on another occasion.

APPENDIX

This article was written in December 1913. Since then a very important contribution on the same subject by Dr. S. Poznański, under the title 'Babylonische Geonim im nachgaonäischen Zeitalter' (Berlin, 1914, Mayer und Müller, *Schriften der Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judentums*, Bd. IV, Heft 1, 2), has appeared, which necessitated a thorough revision of the first part of our article. There has also appeared an article on the Palestinian Geonim in the eleventh and twelfth centuries in the *RÉF.*, vol. LXVIII, pp. 37-49, under the title 'Les Gueonim en Palestine aux XI^e et XII^e siècles', by the present writer. Further material was brought to light in the weekly periodical *המנצפה*, 1914, nos. 19, 20, 24, 25, and in the *Islam*, 'Die Wirren unter dem Fatimiden al-Zahir und die Juden in Palästina'. The article was printed before the outbreak of the war, we do not know whether it was published.

³³ T-S. 13 J. 14. 5.

³⁴ T-S. 13 J. 19. 3, T-S. 13 J. 19. 18.

³⁵ T-S. 13 J. 23. 12. Elijah Hakohen writes: בן דודינו כנ"ק מר' ורב. אברהם הכהן שר הערה

Since writing this article we have been enabled to see more of the manuscript material. The more we have studied this period the more we have recognized that the last word can be said only when the whole material has been published. So it must be doubtful whether T-S. 13 J. 13. 28 was written by Solomon ben Jehoseph or Ben Judah. We are inclined to think that the writer was the former, and not the latter. Solomon must have been very old before 1024, how could he have endured all the trials and struggles for another thirty years, as Solomon ben Judah did? It was hard for the strength of youth, how much more for the weak, aged Gaon?

Here we endeavour to give new material for the biography of Sahalon ben Abraham. Besides the references given in note 28, we have to consider T-S. 20. 6, which preserved his contract of marriage with Esther, the daughter of Joseph ben Amram, the judge השופט, dated Fustat, 1037 (see *JQR.*, N. S., VI, p. 159).³⁶ Sahalon was a very industrious liturgical writer in his time, although the liturgy did not preserve even his name. A very sad memento for 'the great men' of the day! He shared the fate of an older contemporary, whose name was buried with his liturgies in the dust of the Genizah; we mean Samuel, the third השלישי, of whom we will speak on another occasion. We have compiled the following list, which is by no means a complete one, of his liturgical pieces:

1. MS. Oxford 2738, 11.³⁷

(a) סוכי ראה קדשך.

(b) סוּחִי שְׂרָדִיךְ בֵּל הָעָרִי.

(c) סוכי וברחש קרי.

³⁶ Cf. now my *Midrash Haserot we-Yeserot*, London (Luzac), 1917, pp. 76-9.

³⁷ See also MS. Oxford 2712. 10. 6; 2727, p. 9; and 2731. 1.

- (d) ספרי אומה כבוד אל.
- (e) שמח לבי וכוחי . . . שהלן ראש כל.
- (f) סלולך אל מעון קרשי.
- (g) שהלאן בר אברהם אלוף והחבר, שק שם שבבמתניו.
- (h) שהלאן בר אברהם, שים שוטה חבוית נקיקה.
2. MS. Adler 3855, 1.
(i) רשות לרברי דר סהלאן, שאו בכו והתמרמרו ונהו.
3. MS. Adler 2874, 6.
(k) יוצר שמעי.
4. MS. Adler, eleventh century.
(l) ראם אלכאל, by יוצר, Sahalon.
5. MS. Adler 2876, 28.
(m) איכה צור מבהל על הכנפים, beg. צידוק הרין לסהלאן.

It has been asserted that Solomon ben Judah organized the dignities of השלישי, הרביעי, and so on. It is our duty to prove that long before this time this organization prevailed in the Palestinian Gaonate. This we can do by giving a list of dignitaries as far as we know them :

1. The שלישי :

Before 990. Isaac, under Joseph ha Kohen ר'י'ג' (v. המניד, 1877, p. 132).

Before 990. Samuel ha Kohen ben Joseph ר'י'ג' (Fragment Adler).

About 1004. Samuel, ביר' הושענא (v. T-S. 16. 68; *ƒQR.*, XVIII, 729, for the date T-S. 16. 14, and MS. Adler 4007).

About 1062. Zadok השלישי ben Josiah אב (v. Schechter's *Saadyana*, p. 88, T-S. 13 J. 22. 10).

? Solomon ben Tobiah השלישי בחבורה (v. MS. Bodl. 2878. 4).

2. The רביעי:

About 990. Aaron ha Kohen (Fragment Adler).

About 1010. Abraham, son of Samuel השלישי (T-S. 13 J. 1. 20, Fragment Adler).

About 1013. Ahijah הכהן ben Hilkieh הכהן (v. Harkavy, *Altjüdische Denkmäler aus der Krim*, St. Petersburg, 1876, p. 245. הרביעי בחבורת מסורת סיג).

About 1027. Joseph ha-Kohen ben Jacob (MS. Oxf. 2874. 12, cp. 2873. 28).

About 1031. Joseph (Fragment Erzherzog Rainer, v. Epstein, *REJ.*, XXV, 273).

About 1045. Eliah ha-Kohen ben Solomon, v. *JQR.*, XVIII, 728.

? Solomon ha-Kohen, v. MS. Oxf. 2878, 90.

About 1080. Ebiathar ha-Kohen, T-S. 24, 49.

About 1100. Eliah ben Ebiathar.

? Mazliach הרביעי (MS. Adler).

3. The חמישי:

? שילא, MS. Oxf. 2877, 6.

4. The ששי:

About 1031. Elijah ha-Kohen (MS. Adler 3011, 1).

About 1031. Anonymous (Fragment Erzherzog Rainer).

1128. Moses (MS. Oxf. 2876, 70; v. Pinsker, *L. K.*, p. (ר') משה חב"ה אלה בן אלשישי, י"ג).

? Abu Saad (see *JQR.*, XVIII, 730).

5. The שביעי:

1130. Moses ha-Levi (MS. Oxf. 2878, 16 and 29).

? Nathan (see *JQR.*, IX, 120, XIX, 732, and T-S.

13 J. 15. 7).

1120? Anonymous (v. Kandl, Samuel, *Genizai Kéziratok*, Budapest, 1909, p. v).

On the organization of the Palestinian Gaonate see *ƳQR.*, N.S., I, 66. It will not be superfluous to draw attention to the fact that, according to the canon, even if the city was great, the deacons of the church 'ought to be seven' (*v. Eus. H. Eccl.* VI, 43, Council of Nicaea, in 315, Canon XV). We may definitely say, therefore, that the organization of the 'seven members' of the Gaonic authority is older than Solomon ben Judah.